ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME 8/13/65	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.
ED002086	N.A.	N.A.

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

4. AUTHOR(S): Tillman, James A.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: The Case Against De Facto Segregated Education in the North and West: A Contemporary Case Study

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: The Journal of Negro Education

7. EDITOR(S): Daniel, Walter G.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN: ORG. Howard University Press; ST. Washington 1, D.C.; CITY, STATE; TELE. EXT.; INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE: Howard University Press, Washington 1, D.C.

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1964	11

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE: YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED: YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED: YES ☒ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT: PROPOSAL ☐ IN-PROGRESS ☒ FINAL ☐ FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR: Report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

	school zoning	de facto segregation		
	permissive bussing			
open enrollment	urban education			
school integration	community attitudes			

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

It is the responsibility of the local government to provide education which enables children to adjust normally to American democracy. This cannot be done in a school system that is racially imbalanced. The Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force feels that the board of education must not wait for a sound community but must take positive steps to produce one by creating racial balance. Some areas of Minneapolis have shown a 30% increase in the concentration of Negroes from 1950-60.

The school system should have a color-consciousness which some school systems in the North and West have adapted into the operational techniques of split school building use by grades, permissive bussing, open enrollment, and redistricting and/or school relocation.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

A Quarterly Review of Problems
Incident to the Education of Negroes

VOLUME XXXIII | FALL 1964 | NUMBER 4

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Published for the Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, by The Howard University Press, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Office of Education-HEW
Research and Materials Branch

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ED002086

The Case Against De Facto Segregated Education in the North and West: A Contemporary Case Study*

JAMES A. TILLMAN, JR.

Executive Director, Greater Minneapolis Interfaith Fair Housing Program, Minneapolis, Minnesota

THE FUNCTION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

The conviction that learning *must* be a lifelong process today is based upon a new and unique fact of life: the accelerating rate of quantitative and qualitative social change. For the first time in the history of human culture, revolutionary and drastic culture changes have been telescoped into a time span which is significantly shorter than the life of the average individual. Today's generation of mature adults represents the first generation faced with the unavoidable task of coping with a culture *different in kind* from the one originally transmitted to them. The dangerous consequence of this accelerated rate of change is obvious; yesterday's well-educated and adequately informed citizen has a constellation of knowledge and attitudes which must be considered obsolescent—if not obsolete—today.

The unmistakable lesson to be learned from this sudden change in the tide of Western history is clear: the culture which does not insist that its public school system look to the future reduces its potential for survival in a world of rapid social change. In fact, such a culture runs the terrible risk, at the very least, of becoming obsolete in an area of increasing importance in human existence.

In spite of the rapid and tumultous changes through which this country and the world are passing, many Americans today still believe that the only justifiable and defensible function of the public school is to give children information. Many of them believe that the elimination of many of the social problems which beset and divide the American people can be achieved by the simple act of giving the young information about race, about religion, about the social class and caste structure of the American society and about the cultural and racial pluralism which is a fact within and beyond the boundaries of America.

*This contemporary case study was prepared and written by the author for the Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force. It was presented by the Task Force, under the title of "Segregation and the Minneapolis Public Schools: An Overview With Recommendations for Its Arrest and Reversal", to the Michigan University School Facilities Survey Team in November of 1962. The Michigan Survey Team was then surveying the future building needs of the Minneapolis Public School System. It was presented by the Task Force as a general position paper in order to sensitize the Survey Team to the need for including "racially balanced schools" as one of the criteria for determining future building needs of the Minneapolis School System. The position espoused in this paper must, the author believes, become a standard criterion in determining the function and evaluating the effectiveness of public school education in changing non-southern communities. The Michigan Team's reports *did* reflect the position and recommendations set forth in this article.

No one can deny the importance of having information about all of these things. Without question, the school which does not provide the young with such information is not doing as sound a job of educating the young as the school which does. *It must be recognized, however, that current informaton in the field of education points to the fact that information, by and of itself, is not enough*—not enough to create people who are able to lead rich and abundant lives; not enough to help people develop and utilize to the fullest extent their own and other individuals' potentialities; not enough to give people the courage required to stand up and be counted in meaningful and useful ways in the fight against the social forces which lead to and sustain prejudice, irrational discrimination, and bigotry; not enough to enable adults of this generation to eliminate the social evils attendant upon the segregated society in our own time.

If one accepts the fact that information—by and of itself—is not enough the basic question is: What else is required of the public school in American culture today? To begin with, the public school must become instrumental in helping the child create and sustain for himself a self-concept which permits and enables him to like himself and, therefore, to like others; one that enables him to move, without constriction and undue inhibitions, in positive ways towards others who may be different in religion or racial background from himself. In the second place, the growing child in the American culture today must learn certain human relations skills. In a rapidly changing world, these are as *essential* as the fundamental skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. In the third place, the child in contemporary America must develop positive attitudes towards democracy—the social system in which he must live and to which he must contribute upon reaching adulthood.

The School and Social Process

The Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force believes the most important function of local government is education, and that education is the principal instrument by which the child is introduced in a systematic way to the culture values of our social system. We further believe that it is the function of education to help the child adjust normally to the evolving system of American democracy. We further believe that education can lead the social process. We do *not* believe that sound education must wait for or follow the development of a sound community; we believe that education can be instrumental in helping to produce a sound community. Moreover, we believe that the school system need not adopt a posture of helplessness with respect to de facto segregated education. In fact, a good case can be made that a desegregated school is an absolute *sine qua non* for the emergence of non-segregated residential living for such a school helps to create personality structures which do not rely upon race or religion as the ultimate criterion against which choices are measured. A recent study, for example, shows that people who had lived in all-white neighborhoods exhibited great anxiety concerning the racial composition of schools served by property which they were interested in inspecting when they elected to move to another area. These people wanted, of course, to move into residential areas

which did *not* have schools with heterogeneous pupil populations. The Human Relations Task Force, in viewing the growing tendency towards segregated education in certain of our public schools, wishes to make this general recommendation: all efforts possible must be made by the Minneapolis public school system to adopt measures which will actively mitigate, arrest and ultimately eliminate from the Minneapolis school system de facto segregated schools.

The Choices Confronting School Boards in the North and West

The Public Education Association lists five goals of school zoning: (1) minimizing the distance from home to school; (2) avoiding traffic hazards and topographical barriers (ditches, steep hills, etc.); (3) taking advantage of convenient and accessible public transportation when necessary to use it; (4) utilizing school space and facilities to the maximum; and (5) avoiding shifting pupils, thus ensuring continuity of instruction. The Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force believes that to these five should be added another goal—racial balance—which will commit the Board of Education in a positive and active way to racially balanced schools.

The public school is often referred to as the mortar of American beliefs, ideals and practices. It is often viewed as the one institution which has the unique *ability* to cement relationships among the American people. Whenever and wherever the public school can be so situated that it can draw its pupils from different ethnic racial and religious backgrounds, it should be so located. Whenever and wherever other methods can be used to insure the establishment of schools with heterogeneous populations, these schools should be used. There can be no doubt that pupils educated in such schools receive a sounder education than those educated in essentially homogeneous schools. Schools with homogeneous pupil populations can become the living example of American democracy.

The Task Force is fully aware that probably the biggest single obstacle facing any school board determined to eliminate segregation in an active and positive way is the concept of "the neighborhood school". The neighborhood school concept was borrowed originally from the ideas which surrounded "the community school". It must be pointed out, however, that the community school historically connoted precisely the antithesis of what the neighborhood school is generally understood to mean in the American culture today. The community school originally was an institution where all of the community's children went to school together. Such schools included the children of all segments, races, creeds and economic circumstances. One of the fundamental objectives of the community school was that of bringing all of the community's children together for the purpose of education so that they could learn in a *practical and meaningful* way the lessons of democracy as they shared communal institutional facilities. In addition, the basic trend—consolidation—of rural education in America has been away from the small neighborhood school.

There is a real question as to whether or not it is fundamentally possible for a board of education to provide equality of educational opportunity in the de facto segregated school. The history and contemporary dynamics of urban communi-

[illegible] North and West indicate that it is almost impossible to keep teachers who are well-trained in de facto segregated schools; it is impossible to keep up academic standards; it is usually impossible to provide the same quality of supplies and equipment. In fact, the whole culture believes that a segregated school *is or should be* an inferior school. If this is so, does not the *requirement* that such a school be attended constitute a violation of the civil rights of the child?

The central question here involves the inadequacy of education in the de facto segregated school. That such a school is not created or sustained by *direct* action of an arm of the state can not and should not, we believe, be decisive in excusing the absence of active efforts by the board of education to mitigate and arrest--if not wholly eliminate— the growing tendency towards segregated education in certain Minneapolis public schools. The fact is that almost any part of the operation of a public school system is, in and of itself, a form of state action.

It is our belief that the school board must make an effort to overcome de facto segregated schools, which result from de facto patterns of housing segregation. Housing segregation should be one of the factors which the school board takes into account in seeking to insure equality of educational opportunity of all children attending its schools. The school board should take every reasonable step to eliminate the impact of de facto housing segregation upon the public school system and should seek to prevent such de facto housing segregation from resulting in increasing de facto school segregation in the future. We believe that the school board must be made aware of its duty to take this factor, as well as other factors, into account in developing policies designed to achieve the most effective system for translating its avowed policy of sound education for all children into practice.

Segregation and the Minneapolis Negro Population

The Commission on Housing and Race indicates that housing and residence have proved probably the most resistant of all fields to demands for equal treatment. The decade 1940-1950 witnessed scant improvement in the housing conditions of non-whites, although the white population, in spite of the general scarcity of housing, registered significant gains in housing space per capita. Segregation barriers in most cities were tighter in 1950 than ten years earlier.

In the years since 1950, the exodus of whites from cities to suburbs has permitted major expansion of minority living space in cities. Housing available to minority groups has increased substantially in many cities, both in amount and in quality, but the basic pattern of exclusion and segregation has changed little, if at all. The evidence indicates, on the whole, an increasing separation of racial groups as non-whites accumulate in the central city areas now abandoned by whites and the latter continually move to new suburban subdivisions from which minorities are barred.

Minneapolis does not represent an exception to the generalizations which the Commission on Housing and Race made with respect to housing and the demand for equal treatment. During the past 20 years the pattern of housing segregation along racial lines has become increasingly rigid in Minneapolis. In addi-

tion, during the decade 1950-60, Minneapolis also experienced a perceptible decrease in her *total* population. Minneapolis, then, during the recent past has experienced both an increasing rigidity with respect to segregated housing and a decrease in its *total* population. These patterns are consonant with developing patterns in many other urban areas in the North and West. It is significant to note, however, that during the decade, 1950-60, the *Negro component* of the *total* population in Minneapolis almost doubled, increasing from 1.3 per cent of the total in 1950 to 2.4 per cent of the total in 1960. During the same period, the total Minneapolis population decreased from 521,718 in 1950 to 482,872 in 1960.

The decrease in the total population and the increase in the Negro component of the total, *by and of themselves*, are not significant with respect to housing segregation and one of its obvious consequences: segregated public schools. On the other hand, these two patterns—a decreasing general population and an increasing Negro population component—are quite significant when they are juxtaposed, and an ecological profile for these two demographic variables is constructed. Table I illustrates the changes which occurred with respect to the total Minneap-

TABLE I

TRENDS IN NEGRO POPULATION CONCENTRATION, 1950-60

	1950			1960			
CT	Total	Negro	%	Total	Negro	%	Percentage of Negro Increase 1950-1960
South							
94	4,109	510	10.2	3,598	1,121	31.1	20.9
100	2,600	677	26.0	2,392	1,337	56.8	30.8
109	5,512	5	.0009	5,449	715	13.1	13.09
95	3,602	17	.004	3,390	274	8.0	7.9
Total	15,823	1,209	7.6%	14,829	3,447	23.9%	16.3
North							
33	4,135	23	.055	3,832	1,221	31.8	31.7
34	5,657	1,282	22.6	4,789	2,284	47.6	25.0
Total	9,792	1,305	13.3%	8,621	3,505	40.6%	27.3
Mpls. =	521,718	6,802	1.3%	482,872	11,782	2.4%	1.1

Key: CT—Census Tracts.

olis population and the Negro component of that total during the 1950-60 decade.

In examining Table I, one central fact must be borne in mind: In 1950, the Negro component represented only 1.3 per cent of the total population and in 1960 the Negro component represented only 2.4 per cent of the total population. This means that while the Negro population almost doubled during the 1950-60 decade, the increase was relatively minor when compared to the total population.

In order to validate the assertion that housing segregation developed increasing rigidity during the 1950-60 decade, one must be able to demonstrate: (1) that the Negro population was *concentrated* in numbers disproportionate to its total size in certain areas in 1950 and (2) that this disproportionate concentration of the Negro population increased perceptibly in the same areas during the 1950-60 decade. Moreover, in order to show that de facto segregation exists, it is necessary to show that the schools which serve the areas of disproportionate Negro concentration are becoming increasingly segregated in consequence of segregated housing. The above procedures are necessary because the Board of Education and its staff have advised the Task Force that the public school system of Minneapolis does not keep pupil population statistics along racial lines—not even on a gross head-count basis.[1]

The failure of the school system to keep pupil population statistics along racial lines on a gross head-count basis may reflect the fact that the Board of Education and its staff do not consider increasing de facto segregation in certain schools to be of sufficient importance to warrant their attention in any systematic fashion. The Task Force believes the attitude implicit in the Board of Education's failure to keep such information is both short-sighted and self-defeating with respect to its avowed policy of equality of educational opportunity.

The increasing rigidity of housing segregation can be easily established by examining the basic demographic information provided by the 1960 census and contained in Table I. This table shows that, though the Negro component of the total population in 1950 was only 1.3 per cent, the Negro component of census tract 94 was 10.2 per cent.

Though the Negro component of the total population in 1960 was 2.4 per cent, it represented 31.1 per cent of census tract 94 in 1960. This means that during the 1950-60 decade, the Negro population component of census tract 94 increased by 20.9 per cent. The increasing rigidity of housing segregation in census tract 94, therefore, is apparent. The degree of concentration is apparent when one compares the Negro component (31.1%) of census tract 94 with the Negro component (2.4%) of the total population. The disproportionate concentration differential in census tract 94 is 28.7 per cent.

In 1950, the Negro component of the total population was 1.3 per cent, but it represented 26.0 per cent of census tract 100 in that same year. In 1960, the Negro component of the total population was 2.4 per cent, but it represented 56.8 per cent in census tract 100 in

[1]Since the Michigan Team made its report, the Minneapolis system has begun to keep racial statistics on a sight-count basis for the purpose of planning district lines and for the purpose of becoming aware of developments which might lead to a worsening of de facto segregated education in the city.

that same year. This means that the Negro component of census tract 100 increased by 30.8 per cent from 1950 to 1960. The increasing rigidity of segregated housing is again apparent in this particular census tract. The degree of disproportionate concentration is obvious when one compares the Negro component (2.4%) of the total population to the Negro component (56.8%) of census tract 100. The concentration differential in census tract 100 is 54.4 per cent.

Table I shows that over half of the Negro population lives in 6 census tracts in Minneapolis. They are tracts 94, 100, 109, 95, 33 and 34. The discussion of both the concentration of the Negro population and the increasing rigidity of housing segregation in census tracts 94 and 100 clearly establishes the fact that, beyond a question, housing segregation is increasing and that the concentration of the Negro population in certain areas is dangerously disproportionate to the total size of the Negro population. These two census tracts, as Table I indicates, are illustrative of both the population concentration and the increasing housing segregation which characterize all of the census tracts in Table I.

The extent to which de facto segregation is increasing in the areas with the highest degree of Negro population concentration can be illustrated by using Warrington Elementary School. Warrington Elementary School is located on Third Avenue between E. 37th and E. 38th Streets. It is in the heart of the area containing a large concentration of Negroes. According to its district boundaries, it serves census tract 94, with a Negro population concentration of 31.1 per cent and census tract 100, with a Negro population concentration of 56.8 per cent. Warrington also serves the western half of census tract 95. This particular census tract has a Negro population concentration of 8.0 per cent. However, it must be noted that most of the Negroes living in this particular census tract reside in the western section of the tract. It may be assumed, therefore, that the degree of Negro concentration in the area served by Warrington School in tract 95 is higher than the degree of concentration for the total tract. Warrington School has long been a problem with respect to the inadequacies which exist insofar as staff turnover, physical plant and quality of teachers are concerned. Evidence was cited in excerpts from its PTA Committee Report of 1959:

> Last year the school lost 10 out of 17 of its staff, including the principal. The question is why? The principal's salary is based on the number of teachers supervised. We have had four principals in the past seven years. Teachers who find the equipment and physical needs of the school inadequate, plus disciplinary problems, ask for transfers.
>
> In general the students have suffered by having inexperienced teachers or lower quality of teachers, plus disadvantages of good physical plant.

It is quite obvious that Warrington School is, for all practical purposes, a Negro school, since its Negro pupil population is estimated to be above 80 per cent as compared to a total Negro population of 2.4 per cent of the whole population. Warrington School is used for illustrative purposes. Other schools serving areas (census tracts 33 and 34) where there is an unusually high degree of Negro concentration suffer from the same problems as Warrington.

In an earlier section of this report the question was raised as to whether or not

it is fundamentally *possible* for the Board of Education to provide equality of educational opportunity in de facto segregated schools. It was also suggested that de facto segregated schools are inherently inferior with respect to teacher turnover, physical plant, academic standards, supplies and equipment. The PTA Committee for A Better Warrington School has commented upon some of these items. Its statement indicates, beyond a doubt, that Warrington School does not provide equality of opportunity for its pupils.

In a study conducted by the Warrington School Physical Plant Committee in April of 1959, Warrington School was compared with 14 other Minneapolis elementary schools in these categories: (1) classrooms, (2) offices, (3) gymnasiums, (4) libraries and (5) special curricular services. The findings of this study clearly indicate that Warrington did *not* compare favorably with the other schools. Of the 15 items used in the comparative analysis, Warrington failed to measure up to the other schools with respect to at least 12 of the 15 items.

There is no doubt, then, that Warrington School—as an illustrative case—is inadequate for the pupil population within its boundaries. The Board of Education took cognizance of this fact in the building plans which were a part of the recently defeated proposed school bond program. There is also no doubt, as the previous discussion indicates, that the pattern of housing segregation is becoming more rigid in Minneapolis and that de facto school segregation is increasing in consequence of the increasing pattern of residential segregation. There seems to be no evidence which can be used in a reasonable way to vitiate this contention.

The central question, however, of whether it is fundamentally possible for the Board of Education to provide equality of educational opportunity in de facto segregated schools was not taken into account in the recently defeated proposed bond program. In the light of the discussion in sections 1 and 3 of this report, and in view of information contained in this section of this report, the Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force reiterates its firm belief that, where physical plant and facilities seem to be equal to the physical plant and facilities of other schools, it is basically impossible for equality of educational opportunity to be offered to the pupil populations in de facto segregated schools. For this reason, it is strongly recommended that the Michigan State University Survey Team take this important factor into account in formulating its recommendations for the Board of Education with respect to the building needs of the Minneapolis public school system. If adequate weight and attention are given to this particular item, it may very well be possible for the Board of Education to take administrative and other actions which can systematically and routinely set in motion those forces which can ultimately mitigate arrest and reverse the growing tendency towards segregation in certain of the public schools.

Methods Used by Other Cities

Justice John Harlan, in his dissenting opinion in the famous 1896 Plessy decision, introduced the legal concept that government, in its relations with citizens, should be *color-blind*. Viewed in context and applied to the issues then at bar, the color-blind concept was used to connote government action which *did not* support attitudes of prejudice and discrimination.

Because Justice Harlan's admonition went unheeded for more than 60 years in this country, it is now impossible for any arm of government today to contend that it is committed to equality of opportunity by remaining color-blind.

Many school boards, in the North and West, have operated on the elementary assumption that they could and should remain color-blind in the formulation and implementation of public school policy. In effect, and in actual practice, this philosophy has often meant that school boards have consistently refused to assume any responsibility for arresting and reversing the growing tendency towards segregation in many public schools. These school boards have contended that they had no responsibility for eliminating de facto segregated schools, since the segregated nature of these schools was not the *direct* consequence of school board actions.

It is encouraging to note, however, that some concerned and forward-looking school systems in the North and West have adopted a *color conscious* attitude which, translated into *school practices*, is designed to achieve the equality of opportunity to which Justice Harlan referred in 1896 when he used the *then appropriate* term "color-blind."

The color-conscious attitude which some school systems have adopted in the North and West have been translated into these operational techniques: (1) Split School Building Use by Grades, (2) Permissive Bussing, (3) Open Enrollments, and (4) Redistricting and/or School Relocation. The techniques above have been utilized in other communities without the keeping of racial statistics on an individual pupil basis. According to Maslow and Cohen, in *School Segregation, Northern Style*, the keeping of racial statistics on an individual basis is neither necessary nor desirable.

The Split School Building Use by Grades

The split school use approach was originally introduced in Princeton, New Jersey in a situation where a predominantly Negro school was located relatively close to a school in a white area. The plan involved having the Negro and white pupils enrolled in grades 1-3 attend the school located in the Negro area, while pupils in the other grades were assigned to the nearby school in the white area. This plan has also been introduced in Willow Grove, Pennsylvania and in Benton Harbor, Michigan.

Permissive Bussing

Another technique which has been utilized, with success, in an effort to overcome de facto segregation which often results from the application of the neighborhood school concept to existing neighborhoods is called the "permissive bussing" technique. This technique has been used with success in both New York City and in Detroit, Michigan. In both cases, the school boards indicated that its basic use was designed to equalize school populations between the over-utilized and under-utilized schools. The over-utilized schools were located in the Negro districts and the under-utilized schools were located in white districts. It would seem that this technique is particularly useful where there is a pupil population imbalance among several school districts.

Open Enrollments

The most ambitious attempt to overcome the Jim Crow results of the neighborhood school concept was initiated by the New York City Board of Education

in 1960. It adopted a new policy of "open enrollments" designed to obtain better ethnic distribution in the entire school system. Under this program, pupils from 21 junior high schools which had extremely high concentrations of both Negroes and Puerto Rican students were given the opportunity to transfer to 28 other schools that were then being utilized at less than 90 per cent of capacity. The population of the "sending" schools ranged from 80 to 100 per cent in Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment. The range in the "receiving" schools was from 0.4 per cent to 23.8 per cent. Only a few students took advantage of the open enrollment policy during the 1960-61 school year. However, the success of the program motivated almost 3,000 pupils from grades 3 to 5, as well as many more at the junior high level, to take advantage of the policy during the following school year, and 90 receiving schools became involved. The Board of Education has announced it will extend the open enrollment program. In keeping with the accepted notions of good zoning, free bus transportation has been provided for pupils when their new schools have been located more than a mile from their homes. Under this program, a white student may also exercise the option to attend a school outside of his regular school district. In practice, however, the use of the "sending" and "receiving" concepts means that almost all of those exercising the option have been either Negro or Puerto Rican. Because this technique is used as a device to alleviate overcrowding and because white students may also exercise the option, this approach would seem to be consistent with constitutional requirements.

Redistricting and/or School Relocation

Still another technique which some school systems have used to overcome segregation in education has been the redistricting and relocation technique. It would seem that this particular technique has a particular efficacy if it is used when the school system is required, because of normal growth and population changes to build new or expand existing school facilities. This technique enables the school system to build new schools or to relocate existing schools in the fringe areas between the predominantly white and predominantly Negro areas so that the school can serve pupils from both the Negro and white neighborhoods.

Recommendations for Minneapolis

The previous discussion indicates that, given adequate and sufficient concern, it is possible for local school boards to institute programs which can mitigate and overcome the most glaring effects of de facto segregated schools. The frame of reference within which the whole of this position paper has been developed was set forth in the first five paragraphs. It may not be amiss to again state the fundamental assumption on which this frame of reference rests. The frame of reference which permeates this entire statement rests upon the basic and elementary premise that the public school system has these unavoidable functions in contemporary American culture:

(1) To transmit information through and by the traditional educational processes.

(2) To systematically assist the pupil in the development of a realistic and adequate self-concept.

(3) To aid the pupil in the development of those human relations skills which it is *necessary* for

the child to possess if he is to cope successfully and realistically with the emerging system of pluralism both within and beyond this country's borders.

(4) To provide the pupil with a school milieu which will prepare the pupil in a routine way to accept and enlarge the democratic system of social organization.

Given our opinion that these goals are both desirable and necessary functions of the contemporary public school system, the Task Force believes that de facto segregated schools are a distinct deterrent to the achievement of these goals. For this reason, we strongly recommend that the Michigan State University Survey Team take these goals—and the urgent necessity for eliminating de facto segregated schools as an important means for achieving these goals—into full account in its current study of the community, land utilization, population, school enrollments, school plant and school finances as these relate to the present and future school plant needs of the Minneapolis public school system. Further, we recommend that these goals—and the elimination of de facto segregated schools as a major means for achieving them—be reflected in the recommendations which the Michigan State University Survey Team will ultimately make to the Minneapolis Board of Education.

It is possible that some of the methods which other cities have used may have functional applicability in Minneapolis. If not, other methods particularly suited to Minneapolis should be adopted. The Minneapolis school system has the resources, the capacity and, we believe, the will to take such measures as are required to arrest and reverse the tendency towards de facto segregated schools. The present and future plant needs of the system offer, we think, an unparalleled and unprecedented opportunity for such measures as are required to be largely built into the system as a routine part of the expansion program.